Bishop of LINCOLN's

AND

Bishop of NORWICH's

SPEECHES

IN THE

HOUSE of LORDS, March the 17^{th.}

ATTHE

Opening of the Second Article of the Impeachment against Dr. Sacheverell.

LONDON:

Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1710.



o t pe ti co ti ti ti co ti ti

The Bishop of Lincoln's Speech in the House of Lords, &c.

MY LORDS,

the Profecution of the foregoing Article of this Impeachment, a Noble Lord, who ipoke very early to that Point, was pleased not only to Anticipate our Judgment in that Particular; but to do it with this pretty Hard Reflection, That in giving it, as He supposed we Would, We should Vote contrary to our own Dottrine. It is not improbable but that, in the Course of the present Debate, another Arrow may be drawn out of the same * Quiver to shoot at us; and we may be told, that in defending of the † Toleration granted by Law to the Dissenters, we show our selves to be Apostates from our Own Order. But from both these Imputations I am perswaded both our Writings, and our Actions, will secure Us in the Judgment of all indifferent Persons.

The Substance of this Second Article of the Impeachment, which your Lordships are now about to enter upon, is this: "That Dr. S. in his Sermon, doth sug"gest and maintain, that the Toleration, granted by
"Law, is Unreasonable, and the Allowance of it Un"warrantable. That He is a False-brother with Relation
to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration,
and Liberty of Conscience. That Q. Elizabeth was
deluded by Archbishop Grindal to the Toleration of the
Genevian Discipline: And that it is the Duty of Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathe-

† Dr. S.'s Serm. at Sr. Paul's, Pag. 8.

^{*} See Dr. S.'s Answer to the 1st Article of Impeachment. His Speech, Fol. Pag. 23.

"ma's against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the Tolera"tion; and insolently dares, or desies, any Power on
"Earth to Reverse such Sentences." This, my Lords, is
the sum of this part of the Commons Charge against Dr. S.
and I think the Managers have sully made it out; not
by bare Intendments, by unnecessary Implications, and forced Constructions; not by piecing together broken Sentences,
and Conjoining of distant, and independent Passages (as he
has unjustly Complain'd;) but by the plain words, and
necessary meaning, of a very great Part of his Discourse.

But before I trouble your Lordships with the Proof of this, give me leave, upon this Occasion, (tho' it be no part of the Impeachment laid against the Preacher) to observe to your Lordships what a strange Account he has thought fit to publish of that other popular Engine, which, he says, has been made use of * to pull down the Church, and which he calls by the Name of Comprehension.

The Person who first concerted this supposed Design against our Church, was the late most Reverend Dr. Sancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury. The time, was towards the End of that unhappy Reign, of which so much was said upon the Occasion of the foregoing Article. Then, when we were in the heighth of our Labours, defending the Church of England against the Assaults of Popery, and thought of nothing else; that Wise Prelate foreseeing some such Revolution as soon after was happily brought about; began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the Restoration of King Charles the IId to fettle many things to the Advantage of the Church; and what a happy Opportunity had been loft for want of fuch a previous Care, as he was therefore desirous should now be taken, for the better and more perfect Establishment of it. It was visible to all the Nation, that the more moderate Dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that Stand which our Divines had made against Popery, and the many Unanswerable Treatifes they had publish'd in Consutation of it, as to express an unusual Readiness to come in to us. And it was therefore thought worth the while, when they were deliberating about those other Matters, to consider

at the same time what might be done to Gain Them,

without doing any Prejudice to Our felves.

The Scheme was laid out, and the several Parts of it were committed, not only with the Approbation, but by the Direction of that Great Prelate, to such of our Divines as were thought the most proper to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one Part to Himself ! Another was committed to a then Pious and Reverend * Dean, afterwards a Bishop, of our Church. The reviewing of the Daily Service of our Liturgy, and the Communion book, was referr'd to a Select Number of excellent Persons, † two of which are at this time upon our Bench; and I am fure will bear Witness to the truth of my Relation. Delign was, in short, this: To improve, and, if possible, to inforce our Discipline; to Review, and Enlarge our Liturgie; by Correcting of some things, by Adding of others; and, if it should be thought advisable by Authority, when this matter should come to be legally consider'd, first in Convocation, then in Parliament; by leaving some few Ceremonies, confess'd to be Indifferent in their Natures, as Indifferent in their Usage, so as not to be necessarily Observed by Those who made a Scruple of them; 'till they should be able to Overcome either their Weaknesses, or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with Them.

How far this good Design was not only known to, but approved of by, the Other Fathers of our Church; that famous Petition for which Seven of them were sent to the Tower, and which contributed so much to our Deliverance, may suffice to shew. The "Willingness they" there declared of coming to such a Temper as should be "thought fit with the Dissenters, when that Matter should be Consider'd, and Settled, in Parliament and "Convocation;" manifestly referr'd to what was then known to Several, if not All of the Subscribers, to have been at that very time under Deliberation. And that nothing more was intended than I have before said, is as evident from what was publickly declared in a Treacise purposely written to recommend the Design when it was brought before the two Houses of Parliament, in

of

te

i-

1-

he

oft

re

re

he

ıl-

nes

ble

to

nd

ler

^{*} Dr. Patrick Bishop of Ely.

[†] The Archbishop of Tork and Bishop of Ely.

D.

a.

a

ſ

W

ſi

C

b

1

v

n

a

C h

t

t

0

t

f

t

t

d

1

V

the beginning of the late Reign; and Licensed by the Authority of a Noble Peer, now present, who was at that time Secretary of State: In the very beginning of which there is this remarkable Passage, which I shall beg Leave to read to your Lordships: * " No Alteracc tion, that I know of, is intended but in things declared to be Alterable by the Church its self. And if things Alterable be Altered upon the Grounds of Prudence and Charity; and Things defective be supplied; and Things Abused be Restored to their proper Use; and Things of a more Ordinary Composition, Revised and Improved; whilf the DOCTRINE, GOVERN-" MENT, and WORSHIP of the Church remain Intire, in ALL the Substantial Parts of Them; We have all reason to believe that this will be so far from Inju-" ring the Church, that, on the contrary, it shall re-

ceive a very great Benefit by it."

And now, my Lords, let any impartial Person Confider, what was there in fuch a Design that could be justly esteem'd prejudicial to the Constitution of our Church? Wherein would our Canons have fuffer'd, if Those already made, had been more frongly Enforced; and some New Ones had been Added, for the Reformation of Manners; for the better punishing of Notorious Offenders; and to render our Publick Discipline more strict, and severe? This we have been Wishing for, ever since the Reformation: What Harm would it have done our Church had it now been Effected? Or how would our excellent Liturgy have been the worse, if a few more doubtful Expressions had been Changed for plainer, and clearer; and a passage, or two, which however capable of a just Defence, yet in many Cases seem harsh to some even of our Own Communion, had either been wholly left at liberty, in such Cases, to be Omitted altogether; Or been so qualified as to remove all Exception against Them in Any Case. If such Collects, as are not yet adapted to the Festivals, or Gospels, to which they belong; had been made more full, and apposite to Both: If some of the Occasional Offices had been Enlarged; and New Ones Added: If, for Example, there had been a greater Variety of Prayers, Pfalms, and Lessons appointed

^{*} A Letter to a Member of Parliament in favour of the Bill for Uniting Protestants: Licensed by the Command of the Earl of Shrewsbury: April 1. 1689. Ja. Vernon. Pag. 2. by

by Authority, instead of the Compositions of private Persons; now necessarily to be used, for the Visitation of the Sick; and New Forms composed for the Use of Prisoners for Debt or Crimes: For the greater Solemnity of Receiving Proselytes into our Church; Of Reconciling Penitents to it; and of Casting Notorious Offenders out of it. These were some of the main things that were then design'd: As for any favour to the Dissenters, None, that I know of, was intended, but what should have been intirely consistent with our Own Constitution: And I hope it will not be thought any Crime for the Bishops, and Clergy of our Church, to be willing to enlarge its Communion, by any Methods which may be likely to Gain Others, and yet not injure our Own Establishment.

But to satisfie your Lordships that nothing could have been designed to the Detriment of the Church; Be pleased farther to consider, how what was thus at first projected in private, by select Persons, and in a difficult time, when no countenance was to be expected from Authority to any such purpose; was afterwards, if ever, to have been brought to Maturity. And this being a matter of Publick Notice, the relation of it will admit of

no Exception.

t

1

if

-

;

j

-

1-

je

1-

?-

1-

e

15

1-

ne

2-

d

?

a-

it

1-

r-

nd

e-

en

al

r

nft

et

e-

h:

nd

a

ed

for

of by

No sooner were their late Majesties, of Glorious Memory, feated in their Thrones, but this Delign was openly Espouled by them. A Commission was issued out, under the Great Seal of England, to a large number of Bishops, and other Eminent Divines, to meet together, and to consider of these Matters. What they did, having not had the Honour to be one of them, I shall not presume to fay. This we know, that whatever they did, it was to have been carried on from Them to the two Convocations of Canterbury and York: And after it should have pais'd their Approbations, it was finally to have been laid before the two Houses of Parliament, and so to have gone on to the Royal Affent. This, my Lords, was the Course thro' which all that was defigned, or should have been done in this matter, must have pass'd; and I am perfwaded nothing very injurious to our Churches Welfare, will ever be able to pass thro' all these.

Having thus given your Lordships a true account, of that Design which Dr. S. mentions under the name of Comprehension; I doubt not but that your Lordships will now be amazed to hear; what a false and scandalous Report

AA

he has made of it. In the 16th Page of his Sermon, he thus speaks of it: "The worst Adversaries of our Church, "fays he, were to be let into her Bowels under the Ho-"ly Umbrage of Sons; who neither BELIEVED her "FAITH; OWN'D her MISSION; SUBMITTED to her DISCIPLINE; or COMPLIED with her LI-"TURGY. For the admitting of this Trojan Horse,

" big with Arms and Ruin, into our Holy City, the "Straight Gate was to be laid quite open; Her Walls "and Enclosures to be pull'd down; and a High-road "made in upon Her Communion. Her Articles to be

" taught the Confusion of all Senses, Nations, and Lan-

" guages. This, my Lords; is a very strange Representation of fo Good a Design, as that I before recounted to your Lord hips. Yet this Representation did this bold Man, as confidently, as failly, make of it in the Honse of God; and publish to the View of the whole Nation. For thus he goes on: " This pious design of making our Honse of " Prayer a Den of Thieves, of Reforming our Church into " a Chaos; is well known to have been attempted several " times in this Kingdom, and LATELY WITHIN "OUR MEMORY; when All things feem'd to favour " it but that Good Providence which so happily interpo-" fed against the Ruin of our Church, and blasted the " long projected Scheme of THESE ECCLESIASTI-" CAL ACHITOPHELS." To fay nothing more of the Design it self, of which I have given an Account Pray, my Lords, who were the ACHITO-PHELS that projected it; and must have concurr'd to the Execution of it? I have already named the First, and Chiefelt of them, the late Archbishop SANCROFT. The next who openly approved of it, were the Commissioners who met upon it in the Ferusalem Chamber: A Set of Men, than which this Church was never, at any one time, bles'd with either wiser, or better, since it was a Church: * Who it was that Presided in the Convocation of this Province, to which this Project was next to be referr'd; and who, had it gone on, must have had a chief hand in the Menagement of it, I need not fay.

Every One who knows any thing at all of his Character;

(and I am fure your Lord/bips are none of you Strangers to it) knows him to be too good a Friend to the Effablishment of our Charch, to have been capable of being engaged in such a Villainous Design, as Dr. S. pretends, for the Subversion of it. Or had He been otherwise, yet still the Major part of that Venerable Body must have been as great Achitophels as himself, or no Harm could have been done by Him. Pardon me, my Lords, if the Course of my Argument obliges me to rise vet one Degree higher, and to fay that the like Majority of your Lord hips, and of the House of Commons, together with his late Majesty, must All have come into the Plot against the Church; of all the Skill, and Malice, of the Inferior Achitophels, would have signified nothing. what Cenfure that Man deserves who has the Confidence to infinuate to the World, that the Bishops, the other Clergy, the Convocations; the Parliament, nay, and the late King himself, our Glorious Deliverer; Or at least the greater part of all these, were engaged in a Project " so Monstrons, so Romantic, and Absurd, (for here I am content to use his own Expressions) " that it is hard to say whether " it had more of Villany, or Folly, in it," I shall submit it to your Lord/hips to consider. All I design in taking notice of this part of his Sermon, is only to clear the Memory of many excellent Persons who are dead; and to vindicate the Reputation of some still living, and in the highest Stations of the Church; from that Load of Infamy which this Rath Man has with formuch Virulence of Speech cast upon them: And to let your Lordships see that nothing was intended in all that Affair but what was both Honourable to those who engaged in it; and I am periwaded would have been for the Interest and Peace of our Church and State, had it been accom-

I come now to that which is the proper Subject of the present Debate; namely to offer such Passages to your Lordships, as I humbly conceive do plainly and sully, make out the Second Article of the Commons Impeachment against the Preacher; and prove him to have spoken with more freedom than he ought, not only of the Dissenters themselves, but of the Toleration, or (as he had rather we should call it) the Indulgence granted by Law to

them.

er

0

e,

ne

lls

ad

be

n-

of

ur

as

nd

he

of

oto

ral

IN

ur

othe

LI-

of

int O-

to

rft,

FT.

nif-

any

e it

0ca-

o be

da

lay. ter;

and

And here, as I remember, it was not deny'd either by His Council, or Himself, but that he had spoken, and spoken with warmth too, against Toleration. The only Question is, What the Toleration is against which he spake? Whether it was that which has been granted, by Lam to the Dissenters? Or whether it was only against a General Toleration of Atheists, Deists, Socinians; Men of no Principles, perhaps of no Religion? Or at most against such of the Dissenters as Abused the Indulgence granted them by Lam; and made use of it to Purposes not at all warranted by it? The former of these the Commons charge upon him: The latter He pretends; the

better to clear himself of their Charge.

To determine this Point, I must in the first place beg. leave to observe, that among the several sorts of False-Brethren, enumerated by the Preacher with relation to God, Religion, or the Church; the Second kind is of those, who give up any Point of the Churches Discipline, and Worship. Page 8. To this he adds, that those are False-Brethren who defend Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience. And that we may the better know what Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience, He means; He specifies the very Persons to whom He refers, and of whom He speaks; the DISSENTERS: " If, says he, to comply with the DISSENTERS both in publick and private Af-" fairs, as Persons of tender Conscience and Piety, to promote "THEIR Interests in Elections; to Sneak to THEM " for places and preferment, to defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, and under the pretence of Moderation, excuse THEIR SEPARATION, are the Criteri-" ons of a True Church Man; God deliver Us All from " fuch False-Brethren. The Toleration therefore, and Liberty of Conscience, against which he speaks, must neceffarily be that of the DISSENTERS; those who SE-PARATE from our Church: He names no others; but carries the same Persons thro' his whole Sentence, both before and after those Expressions. Either therefore it is no Reflection upon the Act of Indulgence to fay that all those who defend the Toleration of the DISSENTERS, and are for allowing Liberty of Conscience to THEM, are false-Brethren with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, Page 6, 7, and such against whom we ought to pray to God to deliver Us All, Page 8: Or if this cannot with any reason be either said, or supposed, then' then it must remain, that Dr. S. has here said what the Commons charge him withal; and that in express terms, viz. That He is a salse Brother who defends the Toleration, not of Deists, Socinians, and I know not what Monsters of Irreligion, but of the DISSENTERS. Those same Dissenters who by the Act of Indulgence have a right to that Liberty of Conscience of which this Gent. speaks so very hardly; and prays God to Defend Us from all such False-Brethren as shall presume to excuse it.

But not to infift upon a single Passage which may be supposed to have dropt unwarily from him. In the Second Part of his Sermon, He proceeds to shew the great Perils and Mischiefs of those False-Brethren, against whom He was before speaking, both to the Church and State: pag. 15. And that These again are the fame Persons who have a right to the Legal Indulgence is so very clear, that I do not see how it is possible for any one to make the least doubt of it. Pag. 18. He describes them as Occasional Conformists to the Church. Pag. 19. As those who had the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers still working in them: And, in the next Sentence, He expresly takes notice of the Religious Liberty which our Gracious Sovereign has INDUL-GED them. This in the very same Sentence He calls THEIR TOLERATION; (for the Doctor himself is not tied up to any Niceties of Expression; He may call it fo, tho' Others may not:) These are the Persons, and the only Persons, of whom he speaks in all that part of his Discourse; let us see what he says of the Indulgence granted by Law to them.

And first, he tells us, Page 18. "That it cannot be de"ny'd, but that tho' they do submit to the Government,
"their Obedience is forced, and constrain'd; and so
"treacherous, and uncertain, as never to be trusted. That
"they are as much Occasional Loyalists to the State, as
"they are Occasional Conformists to the Church; and will
betray either whenever it is in their Power, and they think it
for their Advantage. That nothing but a Sottish Infa"tuation can so far blind our Eyes and our Judgments,
"as to make Us believe that the same Causes should not
produce the same Effects; that the same Latitudinarian
"and Republican Notions, should not bring forth the
"same Rebellious and Pernicious Consequences. That
"me shall be convinced to our Sorrow, if we don't appre-

" bend

bend that the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers is fill " working in the present Generation; and that this Tra-" ditional Poyson still remains in this brood of Vipers to sting us to Death. That they have advanced themselves trom the RELIGIOUS LIBERTY which our Gracious Sovereign has INDULGED them, to claim a Civil "Right; and to justle the Church out of Her Esta-" blishment, by hoisting THEIR TOLERATION " into its Place. That to convince us what alone will satisfie "them, they insolently demand the Repeal of the Corpo-" ration and Test Acts, which under Her Majesty, is the " only Security the Church has to depend upon: And " which (if we may believe Him,) They have so far elu-" ded by their abominable Hypocrisie, as to have undermin'd " her Foundations, and indanger the Government, by " filling it with its professed Enemies. His meaning is plainly this; that the Diffenters, whom we are so foolish as to Indulge, a parcel of False and Treacherous Perfons; Enemies both to our Church and State; and fuch as if not timely suppress'd, will convince us to our Sorrow of the weakness and folly, of taking such Vipers into our Bosom, as watch only for a fair Opportunity to sting us to Death.

But what then must we do to secure our selves against these dangerons Enemies? Why first, the Doctor assures us, that they are never to be gain'd by any savour that can be shew'd to them. *" That He must be "very Weak, or something worse, that thinks, or presented, that the DISSENTERS (for of These he still speaks) "are to be won over by any other GRANTS and "INDULGENCES than giving up our WHOLE CON-"STITUTION. This shews the folly of trying the soft way of Indulgence with them: And therefore he concludes; That "He who recedes the least tittle from it (our Constitution) to satisfie, or ingratiate with, "these Clamorous, Insatiable, Church-devouring Malig-"nants, knows not what Spirit they are of; or he ought to shew who is the true Member of our Church.

This I think comes fully up to what is objected against Him; namely, that Doctor S. does in his Sermon Juggest and maintain, "that the Toleration granted by ill

1-

TS.

es

18

il

1-

V

le

be

id

1-

d

19

-

d

r

y

-

e

1

d

g

Law is Unreasonable, and the Allowance of it Unwarrantable. For so it must needs be, if the Diffenters be such Men as he tells us they are; and will be fatisfy'd with nothing less, than he affures us they will. And yet what next follows, is, if possible, still more express to the same purpose. It is objected against him by the Commons, that He had affirm'd in his Sermon. That " Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Arch-bishop "Grindal, (whom he scurrilously calls a False-Son of the "Church, and a perfidious Prelate;) to the Toleration " of the Genevian Discipline. The Fast is not denied; but the Expressions are excus'd; and the Truth of the Allegation is endeavoured to be made out by Historical Memoirs: And it is hoped that your Lordships will not account it a High Crime and Mildemeanour, to have spoken too hardly of a Prelate who has been so many Years

in his Grave. I am, my Lords, very far from thinking, that the Commons ever intended to charge Dr. S. as guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanours, for speaking scanda-lously of that Good Archbishop. Their Concern was not for His Person, what respect soever they may have had (as all true Friends of the Reformation must needs have a very great One) for his Memory. But the Truth of the Matter is this. The Preacher complains Page 19. of his Sermon; that Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Archbishop Grindal, to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline. "He adds, that the Arch-bishop was a perfi-"dious Prelate, for deluding her to Tolerate that Discipline. That she found it such a Headstrong and Encroaching Monster, that in Eight Years she saw it " would endanger the Monarchy as well as the Hierarchy: And like a Queen of true Resolution, and pious Zeal " for Both, she pronounced that such were the restless " Spirits of that factious People *, that no quiet was to be " expected from them, till they were UTTERLY SUP-

"The did by wholesome Severities; and the Effect was, that by this means the Crown for many Years sate easie and flourishing on her Head. But that her Successor,

"PRESSD. That this therefore like a prudent Princess,

"King James, did not follow her Wise Politicks:

And the Refult was as Deplorable on his Side, as it had been Glorious on Hers. For by this means, "His Son fell a Martyr to their Fury: His unhappy Offspring, "Juffer'd Juch disaftrous Calamities, as made the Royal Family One continued Sacrifice to their Malice". And all this for want of those wholesome Severities which the wise Queen his Predecessor, had Used utterly to Suppress

that Factions People.

This, my Lords, is the Doctor's Narrative, and I have given it you in his own Words. The Application is plain, and Home. The Diffenters are now again Tolerated, as they were heretofore under Q. Elizabeth. There is a perfidious Prelate (perhaps in his Opinion a great many) who, like Arch-bishop Grindal, help to delude another Queen, into the Toleration of them. These EIGHT YEARS past (for the very number of Years is remarkable) Her Majesty has born the restless Spirits of this factions People; and had no quiet from them. It is now high time for Her to alter Her Meafures, as Queen Elizabeth wisely did. It is the only way to make the Crown fit Easie, and Flourishing, her Head. And if this be not plainly to speak out what he would have done with the Act of Indulgence, I must despair of ever being able to know any Man's meaning by his Expressions. Such Examples are not only the most likely to inforce, but the most proper, and lively Methods to convey a Man's Sense, even to the dullest Capacity; and make him clearly perceive if not what he ought, yet I am fure what the Preacher would have him to do.

The truth is, so plain was his meaning, that He Himself began to sear that he had gone a little too sar in what he had said of this Matter. And, for that reason, He added that One, poor Sentence which immediately sollows, and of which he has made such good Use since: "That He would not be Mis-understood as if He intended to Cast the least Invidious Reslection upon that Indulgence the Government had condescended to give them, (the Dissenters:) "But what then did He intend by all this bitter Invective against them; and that very Instructive piece of History with which He concluded it? He "has told Us that the Dissenters are False-si Brethren; Destructive both of our Civil and Ecclesianical

d

12

al

d

10

S

ve

15

e-

h.

a

to

n.
of

S

m

1-

ly

m

ıt

13

ot

r,

0

if

er

le

ar

n,

ly

le

 I_e

on

to

7-

ıt

1-

1]

affical Rights. That they are Occasional Loyalists to the State, as well as Occasional Conformists to the Church; and will betray both, whenever they have it in their Power, and it shall be their Interest, to do it. That it must be a Sottish Infatuation to believe that the " same Latitudinarian, and Republican Notions, should not bring forth the same Rebellious, and Pernicious Consequences: That we shall be convined to our Sor-" row, if we do not apprehend that the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers, is fill working in the present Generation: That they have already made dangerous Encroachments upon the Government; and publish'd Treasonable Reflections upon Her Majesty: That they have " advanc'd their Indulgence into a Civil Right, and justled the Church out of Her Establishment, by hoifling their Toleration into its place: That They have by their abominable Hypocrific undermined the Foundation " of the Church, and endanger'd the Government, by filling it with its profess'd Enemies: That they are Clamo-" rous, Insatiable, Church-Devouring Malignants; "Whom no other Grants, or Indulgencies can Win over " but the giving up our whole Constitution: That ever " since their first unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, they have Improved, and Rose upon their Demands in the " Permission of the Government: That Queen Elizabeth, " who Tolerated them for eight Years together, was for-" ced at last to suppress Them by Wholesome Severities: "That this made her Crown sit Easte and Flourishing on " her Head; whereas King James the first by not pursuing the like Methods ruined the whole Royal Family: "That nothing better could be expected from such Mis-" creants, begot in Rebellion, Born in Sedition and " Nursed up in Faction;" All this Dr. S. has said in thele very plain, and emphatical Words. If He did not intend by all this to shew the Necessity of Suppressing these Factious People, these Vipers, who are just ready to sting us all to death, I would be glad to know what it was that He did Intend by it? Could He fay all this, and with fuch a fingular strain of impetuous Eloquence, and yet " not intend to cast so much as the least invidious Reslections upon that Indulgence " which the Government has thought fit to give them? I inust freely own, my Lords I could never have ima-

gined

gined this: Nay I must be excused if I add, That notwithstanding this poor Evasion, I cannot yet believe it. But the Act of Indulgence stood in his way: That Ast the Queen had declared her Resolution to maintain: Your Lordships and the Commons had often fhewn Your Steddiness to the fame Effect. Even Those who press'd so violently against Occasional Communion, yet thought it necessary to fay, in the very Preamble of that Bill, that the Act of Indulgence ought inviolably to be Observed: And therefore Dr. S. thought it needful to add fomewhat that He knew would not take off any thing from the force of his Invective; yet might serve to excuse the Severity of it; and be made use of to the purpose it now is, if he should chance to be call'd to Account for it. This, my Lords, I conceive to be the true meaning of that one fingle Passage, so utterly repugnant to all the rest of his Di-Scourfe: Nor can I put any other Interpretation upon it. For had I the same Opinion of these Men, their Principles, and their Designs, that Dr. S has; I should be fo far from thinking them fit to be Indulged, that I should account it my Duty, and the Duty of every true Friend to our Church and Government; to take the fame Methods of Whole some Severities with them that Queen Elizabeth did: And I hope by God's Grace that should I be questioned for it, I should not dissemble my Opinion; but should have the Courage honestly to own it. whatever I might chance to fuffer for it.

I have, my Lords, insisted the longer upon this part of the Doctor's Sermon, because I would not willingly sall under the Censure of picking out dis-jointed Sentences, and putting them together from distant Places, that so I might the better draw a Sense out of them, contrary to bis meaning. I shall trouble your Lordships but with one part more of it, to the same Effect; Pag. 24, 25. Where he comes to consider, What should be the Result of his long Discourse? I shall read it to your Lordships in his own Words, Pag. 25. "Let us therefere (says he) as we are unhappy Sharers of St. Paul's Missortune, to have our Church in Perils among & False-Brethren, sol-

[&]quot; low his Example, and Conduct in a Parallel Case.

"He tells us in his Epistle to the Galatians, c. 2. That
he was obstructed, and petter'd in preaching the Go-

[&]quot; spel, by False-Brethren unawares brought in, who came privily

privily to spy out his Liberty which he had in Christ Fesus, that they might bring him into Bondage. To whom
he gave place by Subjection, no not for an Hour, that the
truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church.
Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution, did the Apossile take by the peculiar Command, and Inspiration, of the Holy Ghost: And yet if OUR DISSENTERS had lived in those times, they would have
branded him as an Intemperate, Hot, Furious Zealot;
that wanted to be sweetned by the gentle Spirit of Cha-

rity, and Moderation forfooth.

nat

yet

his

ion

of-

en

nal

he

nce

S.

W

his

of

he

ny

n-

)i-

it.

n-

ld

1

ue

ne

E-

I

1-

it,

rt

ly

I.

to

h

5.

of

n

0

1-

e.

it

nne ly

Here we have again the Persons of whom the Preather speaks: They are OUR DISSENTERS; not the Deifts, Atheifts, Socinians, Hypocrites, of our times. And accordingly, what follows, plainly refers to them: For thus he goes on, "Schism and Faction are Things of Impudent and Incroaching Natures: Take Permissions for Power; and advance a TOLERA-TION, (for so the Doctor is still at Liberty to call, what we must stile INDULGENCE) immediately into an Establishment." Your Lordsbips will please to observe, by the way, that this was the very thing he had before faid of these same Persons, Pag. 19; and thereby plainly thews, that hespeaks in both Places of those DISSENTERS who have a right to the TOLE-RATION, or INDULGENCE, granted by Law to Profant Dissenters. Let us now hear what he would have lone with them. Why he would have them " treated like Growing Mischiefs; or Infectious Plagues; kept at a distance, least their deadly Contagion spread." And the Method he proposes in order thereunto, is this, Let us therefore, says he, have no Fellowship with "THESE WORKS of Darkness; but rather reprove them." THESE WORKS, Schism and Faction; For of these, and These only, He here speaks. This is the Peoples part; and the Inferiour Pastors: " As for the Superiour Pastors, let them do their Duty, in thundering out their Ecclesiafical Anathema's against THEM. Against Whom, my Lords? What Works of Darkness? Still the same he before mention'd: OUR DISSENTERS, Those are the Perons: Their Schism and Faction; Those are the Works of Parkness to which he refers. "And let any Power on " Earth

" Eureh dare reverse a Sentence ratify'd in Heaven."

This, my Lords, was the last part of the Commons Impeachment upon this Second Article: And 'tis fo plainly expressed by the Preacher in this Passage, that I confess it amazes me to confider with what Politiveness He has thought fit to deny that any such thing was meant by The Persons whom the Superiour Pasters are summon'd to Anathematize, are the same with those, whom the Other Pastors and People, are to have no Fellowship withal, but to Reprove. These, by the necessary connexion of his Discourse, are OUR DISSENTERS; whose Works of Darkness, He states to be Schism, and Faction: Those Diffenters to whom the Government hath granted a TOLERATION; as himself, in the same Passage takes notice. Which being fo; I shall leave the Doctor to Deny, and Protest, as He pleases; but when all is done, His Own Words will rife up against Him, and appear to every impartial Person so plain, and positive, as to put it beyond the Power of any artificial Interpretion to perplex the meaning of them.

And this lets us into the true Application of those Passages of Scripture, with which He concludes his whole Discourse. In which, having shewn the Danger of our Church from these False-Brethren, and exhorted his Auditory to a fleddy Courage and Resolution in the Defence of it; He thus at once both inforces his Doetrine, and abuses his Adversaries. That the the Church (for to That He applies, what + Zechariah spake of the False-Prophets that seduced the People) lies bleeding of the Wounds which she has received in the House of her Friends: APaffage first thrown at my * felf, for Defending the Princes Authority, when some of These very Men engaged as vehemently on the side of Liberty, against the Rights of the Crown, as they now pretend to Hand up vigoroully for it; +Tho' the Ways of Zion may mourn FOR A TIME (so the Doctor Glosses upon the Text) and Her Gates be defolate; Her Priests sigh; and she in bitte

T

m

H

b

P

P

fo

t7

fe

n

1

N.

w

tl

b

i

V

a

n

T

f

e

h I

P

f

a

I C

[†] Zech. xiii. 6. * See Dr. A's Rights of an English Convocation; Title Page.

[|] Lament. 1. 4, 5.

.

y

S

y

1-

n

ip

6-

se

1:

n-

ge

or

p-

re,

re-

ofe his

ger

ted the

0-

rch

the

ber her

nd-Men

the

VI-

OR

and

bit-

age.

ness

ternels, BECAUSE (it is the Preacher's Reason; the Text has no fuch Word) Her Adversaries are Chief; He means, in the Administration under her Majosty; and Her Enemies AT PRESENT prosper; (so he again improves the Text; in hopes, I suppose, that it will not be long before He shall have Preach'd them out of their Places:) * Tho' among all her Lovers (be has FEW, (the Prophet complained that Ferusalem had NONE) to Comfort Her; and MANY (feremiah said ALL) have dealt treacheroufly with her, and are become her Enemies; (He refers to Those of whom he had before spoken Pag. 223) Il Tho' there are FEW to guide Her among all the Sons which she hath brought forth; neither are there MA-NY to take her by the Hand of all the Sons that the hath brought up; (Isaiah in both places, fays NONE:) The her Enemies cry down with Her, down with Her, even to the Ground: That is, in other Words. tho' (the Preacher, and a few of his Friends, excepted) both the Fathers and Pastors of the Church; and the Men who are AT PRESENT in Power, and Authority, in the State, are become False-Brethren, and run in with those Enemies of the Church, OUR DISSENTERS, against it; "Yet there is a God bat can, and will raise " Her up, if We for sake Her not."

It were an easie matter to make many proper Remarks upon these Passages of Scripture, thus applied, or rather abused, by the Preacher: But that would be besides my present Business; and will fall in more properly under the last Article of this Impeachment. It is enough that I have, I hope, fully shewn your Lordships how Dr. S. has treated if not the Indulgence it self, yet I am sure, Those who are entitled to the Benefit of it: And who if they shall have the Missortune, by this kind of Preaching, to be once generally thought such wicked, salfe, and Dangerous Enemies to our Church and State as they are here represented, I cannot think that their Indulgence will hold long. If they have Numbers to secure them, it is well for them: But otherwise I am

^{*} Lament. i. 2. † Isaiah li. 18. B 2

fure as the Case is fiere stated, it must be our Wisdom, as

well as Duty, to suppress them.

How Criminal such an Investive as this will be accounted in the Eye of the Law, I dare not presume to suggest: Much less shall I pretend to intimate what Censure it may deserve. Somewhat I think should be done to put a stop to such Preaching, as if not timely corrected may kindle such Heats and Animosties among us, as may truly endanger both our Church and State. As for the Preacher Himself; I am very willing to come into any Measures of Favour to Him, that are Consistent with your Lordships Honour and Justice; and will answer the Ends of the Impeachment that has been brought before Us against Him.



THE

Bishop of Norwich's

g, tr th

ps of

SPEECH

INTHE

HOUSE of LORDS,

AT THE

Opening of the Second Article of the Impeachment against Dr. Sacheverell.

LONDON:

Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers-Hall, 1710.

JHT

Little of Norminbs

HITWI

IOUNE of LORDS,

shines and the special of the specia

.4045.01

and the fall of the first and many

The Bishop of Norwich's Speech in the House of Lords, &c.

MY LORDS,

Am very sensible under what Disadvantage in the Opinion of many, a Bishop must speak against a Clergyman that stands accused of Crimes committed by him in the seeming Execution of his Office; especially after having been so publickly required to be an Advocate as well as a Judge. And I am the more sensible of this prejudice lying against me, for having been so lately called into that Order, and sor being so unworthy of it.

But I think my self obliged notwithstanding, under all these Disadvantages to deliver not only my Judgment, but also the Reasons that determine me to it: which I shall do as plainly as I can; with that deserence to your Lordships, which I am sure it must upon all Occasions particularly become me to pay; and at the same time with that Freedom which I think the Im-

portance of this cause do's at this time require.

Dr. Sacheverell stands impeached by the Commons of Great-Britain, of High Crimes and Misdemeanours expressed in the several Articles of the Charge exhibited against him: And Your Lordships have heard what they have said in support of that Charge, as well as what has

been offer'd in the Doctor's Defence.

Your Lordships have also debated among your selves the Merits of the Cause as to the first of these Articles; and have come to a Resolution, that the Commons have made good that part of their Charge: In which Resolution as I did heartily concur; so I was ready to have humbly represented to your Lordships my

Reasons for so doing, had there been either room or oc-

Your Lordships are now upon the Second Article; wherein the Doctor is charged for suggesting and maintaining that the Toleration granted by Law, is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable; with other particulars that have immediate relation to this general Charge, and which are indeed so many proofs of it.

0

I

f

I

t

1

t

In this view therefore, my Lords, I beg leave to consider them; And the First of these Instances, in Support of this Charge, is, that he afferts that He is a False Brother with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience; and this, my Lords, the Doctor do's affert in fo many words. It is one of the many Marks he gives whereby we may difcern who is a false Brother in those respects; not a small part of one general Mark, as was alledged very inconclusively, I think, in his Defence. For if it was to be granted, (tho' it cannot be fairly pretended) that the Doctor makes the defending of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, one Branch only of the Character of a false Brother; I do not see how it cou'd make even a part of that Character, if there was no false Brotherhood in it. And I shall not trouble my felf or your Lordships with going about to settle the degrees of false Brotherhood that are in this part of the Character, because I think every degree of it is unreasonable and not to be warranted.

And therefore the Doctor cannot make it so much as a part of the Character of a salse Brother to desend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, as it is consessed that he do's, but he must at the same time suggest and maintain that the Toleration is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it univarrantable. For it can never be Any degree of salse Brotherhood, to desend what is reasonable and warrantable: Nor wou'd even the Doctor, as inconsistent a Man as several of the Noble Lords that have spoken for him represent him to be, ever have made it one; if he had not himself condemn'd that which he blames others for desending.

The Second Instance alledg'd is, that he calls Archbishop Grindal a False Son of the Church, and a persidious Prelate, Prelate, for deluding Queen Elizabeth into the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline. I shall not, my Lords, go about to add any thing to the sull and just Vindication you have heard of that Excellent Prelate. But can any of your Lordships believe, that a Presbyter of the Church of England, professing more than ordinary Zeal for Episcopacy and the Constitution of this Church; shou'd bestow such Language on one who was the first B shop and the Ornament of it so long; only for disposing that Glorious Queen to a mild Treatment of the Puritans of that time, which is the utmost that is pretended to be laid to his Charge, if he had thought Toleration a reasonable thing, or what was fit to be established by Law?

This, my Lords, I confess can never enter into my thoughts, as ready as I am to enlarge them for the admitting of any savourable Construction that will not shut

out common Sense.

.

-

r

0

le le

,

t

[-

a

y

13

t

-

1:

n

r-

ic

-

t

h

d

d

d

-

r,

5

9

t

u

The Third Instance is his making it the Duty of the Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Persons entitl'd to the Benefits of the Toleration. And to shew that he has done this, I need only refer your Lordships to that part of his Sermon where the Superior Pastors are call'd upon to do so; (viz.) the Fourth and last General Head, where he draws the Consequence of all that he had spoken before, in the following words. *" Now what should be the Result of this long Dif-" course, but that if we bear any true Concern for the " Interest, Honour, and Sasety of our Church and "Government, we ought stedfastly to adhere to those " Fundamental Principles, upon which Both are Foun-"ded, and upon which their Security under God alone " depends; and confequently that it highly behoves us, " cautiously to Watch against, to Mark, and Avoid " All those that thus Treacherously desert them. And " indeed it wou'd be both for our Advantage, as well " as their Credit, if fuch Men wou'd throw off the " Mask, entirely quit our Church of which they are no True Members, and not fraudulently eat her Bread, and lay wait for her Ruin, purloin her Reve-

66

61

66

6

nues, and ungratefully lift up their Heels against Her, For then we should be one Fold under one Shepherd; " all those Invidious Distinctions, that now Distract and Confound us, loft; and we shou'd be terrible " like an Army of Banners to our Enemies; who cou'd " never break in upon fuch an Uniform and Well "compacted Body. This indeed wou'd be a True " Peace, and Solid Union, when we shou'd all with " one Mind and one Mouth glorifie God, and not " with a confus'd diversity of Contradictious Opinions, and inconfistent Jargon of Worship, which the God " of Peace, Purity, and Order cannot but abhor. As it " is a Maxim in Politicks, that all Governments are " best supported by the same Methods and Councils " upon which they are founded; fo it will appear undeniably True in its Application to our Constitu-"tion, which can be Maintain'd by no other Princi-" ples, but those on which it is built, and like their Ba-" fis, the Gospel, if there's any Violation, or Breach " made in any Branch of it, it shakes and endangers "the whole Frame and Body. These things however Little they may be represented by our Adversaries, " will be found of the most considerable Consequence. "Let us therefore, as we are unhappy Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in Perils " among False Brethren, follow his Example and " Conduct in a parallel Case. He tells us in his Epi-" stle to the Galatians, c. 2. That he was obstructed " and pester'd in his preaching the Gospel, by FALSE " BRETHREN unawares brought in, who came pri-" vily to spy out his Liberty, which he had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring him into Bondage: To " whom he gave place by Subjection, no not for an " Hour, that the Truth of the Gospel might continue with the Church. Doubtless this brave and bold "Resolution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Com-" mand, and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and yet " if our Diffenters had liv'd in those Times, they wou'd " have branded Him, as an Intemperate, Hot, Furious "Zealot, that wanted to be sweeten'd by the gentle "Spirit of Charity and Moderation forfooth. Schilm and Faction, are things of impudent and incroach-"ing Natures, they thrive upon Concessions, take " Pernussion "Permission for Power, and advance a Toleration im-"mediately into an Establishment. And are therefore to be treated like growing Mischiefs, or infectious

"Plagues, kept at a distance, lest their deadly Contagion spreads. Let us therefore have no Fellowship with those Works of Darkness, but rather reprove them.

"Let our Superior Pastors do their Duty in thundring out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's, and let any

"Power on Earth dare reverse a Sentence ratify'd in

" Heaven.

t

S

-

1-

1-

rs

er

5,

e.

of

be

oled

E

ri-

ilt To

an

ue

old

m-

yet

u'd

ous

ntle

ilm

ch-

ake Tion Can any thing, my Lords, be plainer than that the Diffenters, and they only, are here spoken of; And what does the Doctor say in his own defence, to avoid it? His Words in his printed Speech are these:

"Schismaticks, my Lords, are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be demounced: The Works of Darkness which I referr'd to as fit to be reproved, in that part of my Sermon where I speak of these Censures, are of the same kind with those mentioned by the Apostle, whose Words I produced; All Lewd and Immoral Pra-

" ctices, &c.

It is very true, my Lords, Schismaticks are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounced, but I must still say they are the only Persons referr'd to, in the Paragraph I have read to your Lordships; and therefore I own I am a good deal concern'd, to find the Doctor making so vain and so unsincere a Desence. For it is not Works of Darkness in general he is cautioning against, but expressly, by a Word of his own inserting, not the Apostle's, those Works of Darkness mentioned immediately before; Schism and Faction, which with him go always together.

These are the Sins against which he calls upon his Superiour Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's; nor can the Charge be avoided by that Distinction which was offer'd in his behalf, between a Censure purely Spiritual, and an Ecclesiastical Censure. For admitting there is ground for that Distinction in a Scholastical Consideration of the general Question of Christian Censures; yet there is no room to make

ufe

use of it in this case, because he calls expressly for Ecclesiastical Anathema's, which can be apply'd to none but such as are part of the Order and Discipline of this Church.

ir

16

O

0

tl

b

P

b

t

h

t

a

V

0

C

a

V

C fe

V

b

S

F

ti

e

b

F

C

h

Ω

And it is certain my Lords that these Censures cannot, since the Act of Toleration, be inflicted upon Dissenters, how much so ever their Schism remains; because it is expressly provided by an Act of Parliament, (an Act, my Lords, of the whole Christian Society, to which the Superior Pastors were personally concurring,) that they shall not be treated as Schismaticks in the way of those Ecclesiastical Censures, to which their Separation would otherwise have certainly subjected them.

And tho' I cannot undertake upon Memory to be very particular, yet I dare venture to fay, there have anciently been Relaxations of the Discipline of the Church, even when the Crime was thought to deserve the Continuance of it; for Publick Expedience, and better preserving the Peace of the Christian World: And that in such Cases any Presbyter or Bishop would himself have been censured, if he had not acquiesced in such Relaxations.

My Lords, a Presbyter of the Church of England, is the more obliged to acquiesce in all such Relaxations amongst us as are legally made, because he has solemnly promised at his Ordination, that he will give his Faithful Diligence always so to minister the Dostrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and REALM hath received the

I have already observed to your Lordships, how the Discipline of the Church stands at present as to the Point in question. And as the Relaxation of it in that particular, was agreeable to that Temper which the Bishops who petitioned King James, gave the Dissenters ground to expect: So I am verily perswaded that the Church is so far from having been burt by this Indulgence, that it has received Advantage as well as Credit, from that Moderation which gave way to it. I could give several Instances of this wishin my own Observation, while I was Arch-Deacon, under a Reverend Prelate that sits now before me; and since I have

have had the Honour to be on this Bench: In which Compass of time several Men of Sobriety and Learning bred up to be Ministers amongst the Dissenters, have lest the Separation, and upon due Tryal have been admitted to Orders in our Church; in which they have officiated with entire Conformity to our Rules, and to

the Honour of our holy Religion.

These Instances have been so frequent and Remarkable, since the Dissenters have been exempted from the Penalties of certain Laws, above what had been observed before; that I think it very ill becomes any Clergyman to preach against that Exemption, as the Doctor (not-withstanding his Reserve for Consciences truly scrupulous) has done; and to call upon his Superiours to act in contradiction to it. He shou'd have forbore doing this, at least out of regard to her Majesty, who had been graciously pleas'd to declare from the Throne, that she wou'd preserve the Toleration inviolable: A Resolution I shall ever think it my Duty upon all proper Occasions to express my Approbation of, as Just and Wise and Charitable, and every way agreeable to the Spirit and Genius of the Christian Religion.

I shall not, my Lords, enter into the Enquiry of what Sentences are ratify'd in Heaven: But as one may venture to say, that all that have been pronounced on Earth, are not ratify'd there; so by all I have seen of the Doctor's Spirit in these Matters, I have great reason to sear, that if the Power of the Keys was in his Hands, it would often be very sadly a-

bused.

1

S

y

ı

5

e

e

e

t

C

1-

t

1-

I

n

I

However he has so good an Opinion of his own Spirit, as to put his Superiours in mind of another Part of their Duty, immediately after that I have mention'd; and that is, to promote Men of Probity, Conscience and Courage, without which he thinks they cannot be fit Members of the Church Militant; in which I can as little agree with him as in the former demand. For if I may Judge of the Probity, Conscience, and Courage he thinks so deserving, by what appears in his Sermon, compar'd with his Speech to Your Lordships; I cannot think them Qualifications for a Minister of the Church of Christ in any respect; and I

hope I shall be so happy as to find all the Reverend Prelates with whom I have the honour to sit, agreeing with me in this.

But tho' I hope such a Conduct will never recommend any Person to favour; yet I do not desire that even that which I heartily blame, shou'd be punished so much as I think it deserves. And tho' He who pleads so warmly for wholesome Severities toward those who differ from him, has the least Title to Your Lordships Compassion; Yet I hope he will find it as far as the just Concern you have for the Publick Tranquillity will allow you to shew it.

This I say from that which I bless God is the natural Temper of my Mind, and not from the Care that has been taken by some to intimidate as far as they cou'd, those who were to have the Cognizance of the Doctor's Cause, and were not thought to

be favourable to it.

I shall not take upon me to charge the Doctor or any of his particular Friends with this Practice, as great a Temptation as one is under to do so from several Circumstances. And it is not the least, that occurs in his Prayers, which he has publish'd upon this Occasion, to represent not so much to God as to the World, that he is under Persecution, when he is prosecuted for offending against the Law, by those who in common Justice ought to be thought the fairest Accusers; and before Your Lordships, who are justly acknowledged to be the most impartial Judges.

However I will never believe, till I cannot avoid it; that any Members of the Church of England who have acknowledged the Government, much less any Clergy-man who has so often profess'd his Obedience to it in Church and State, shou'd have been any way accessory to those threatnings that have been given out, particularly against such Bishops as should happen

to condemn the Doctor's Proceedings.

As far, My Lords, as I have seen of this Cause, I am likely to be one of those Bishops; and tho' I do not pretend to any great share of Courage, I am very free to declare to Your Lordships that I am in no Com-

parison

a

01

ba

co

de

w

P

nd

ng

m-

ire

ou-

He

rd

as in-

naare far nito

or as om nat his to is ofe he

ho

t; ve rit fit, en

le, lo ry nparison so apprehensive of what may befal my self or condemning this Person, as I am of what will probably befal the Publick if Your Lordships should not condemn him.

But that is in your Lordship's Judgment, to which I humbly submit it: And only beg Pardon for having detain'd Your Lordships so long in giving my reasons why I think the Commons have made good this Second Part of their Charge.

FINIS.



